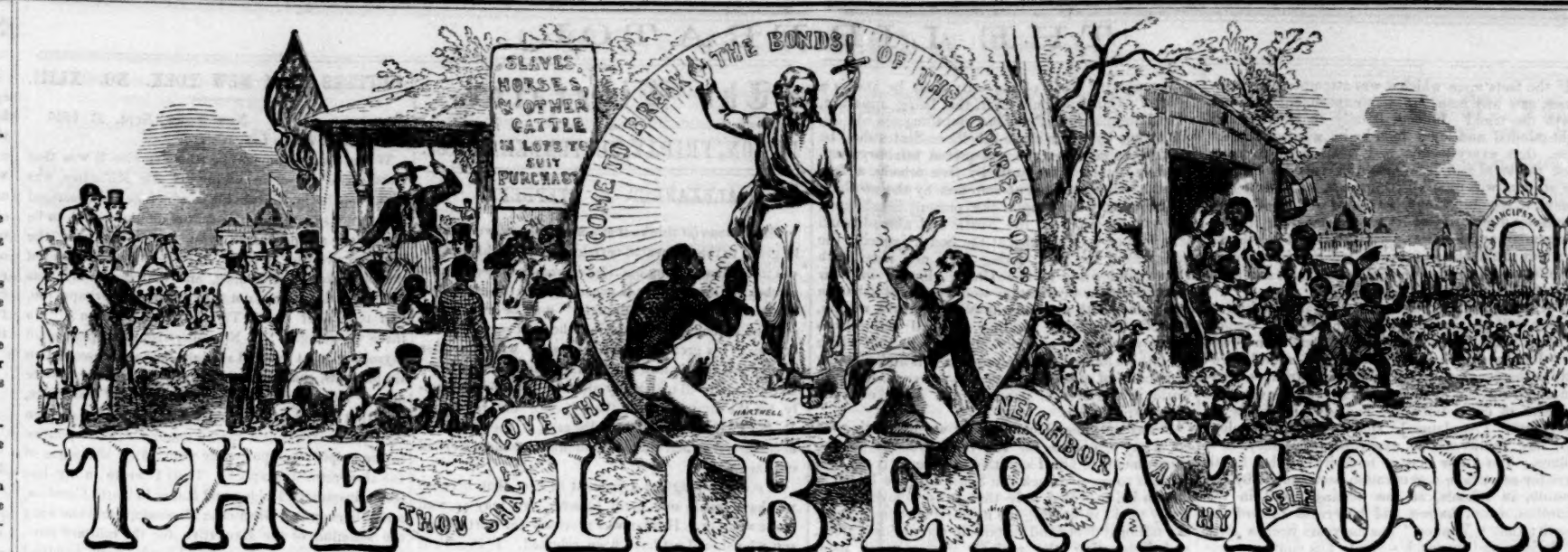


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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

Selections.

THE WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION.

Extracts from an able and uncompromising Address
delivered by Hon. William P. Cutler, at Belphre, Ohio,
July 4, 1865, on "The Duty of Citizens in the Work
of Reconstruction."

I believe that it is the right and duty of the Gen-
eral Government to interpose directly to "establish
justice to its own citizens; to protect them from
oppression and outrage; to maintain 'the Union'
which has been rescued from the grasp of the rebel-
lion by the brave and self-sacrificing soldiers, and the
sacrifice of the people."

And I believe that to accomplish this great practical
work, it is the duty of the General Government to
punish the leaders of the rebellion
—that is, death. I do not say this from
revengeful or vindictive feelings, but because it is
the only way that can be adopted to prevent a
repetition of the same crime. It is the only way that
can be adopted to prevent a repetition of the same
crime. It is the only way that can be adopted to
prevent a repetition of the same crime.

Confession should do its appropriate work in
lessening the power of an aristocracy, who, by their
own crimes, have forfeited all claim to leniency. And
the only way that can be adopted to prevent a
repetition of the same crime. It is the only way that
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crime. It is the only way that can be adopted to
prevent a repetition of the same crime.

It brings us to face the question, Shall the
Negro be allowed to vote? I say unhesitatingly,
in my opinion, and I say that the Federal Govern-
ment should secure to him the right to vote, be-
hind the possibility of any interference by State
authorities. It is said that hitherto the States have
been the qualifications of voters. This may be
true, but we are not now dealing with States occupy-
ing their proper relation to the Federal power. A
State which refuses to secure to the colored man the
right to vote, is in rebellion against the Federal
Government. In that case we need citizens of the
United States in a disorganized state, requiring
the interposition of some appropriate authority to
re-establish order.

I do not rest the decision on precedents,
because that can be found exactly in point. It is
a question requiring the exercise of those extraordi-
nary powers of sovereignty which may always be
called forth when self-preservation demands; and
self-preservation, I mean the great purposes for
which the sovereignty itself was created, viz:—
"Justice, Peace, Welfare, Defense and Liberty."

I know that the prevailing impression is, that
the extraordinary powers can only be used as
expedients; but such has not been the practice of
our fathers.

It was universally admitted, even by the friends
of the measure, that there was no constitutional
warrant for the purchase of Louisiana. It was
done by Congress in time of peace—not as a war
measure—and was understood at the time to have
been made in the exercise of those extraordinary
powers which are in the hands of the Federal Gov-
ernment, and which are not to be defined or lim-
ited by the ordinary rules of the Constitution. The
Constitution, admitting millions of the public treas-
ure, is another instance where Congress, for reasons
apparent to all, undertook to do that which the
Constitution certainly did not authorize—for rail-
road purposes. It was prompted by the necessities
of the moment, and the result was the creation of
the "common defense" and "general welfare" of
the people.

Now, in the case of reconstruction, we are met
with the practical question of the extraordinary powers
of the Federal Government. Are we to guard against
disunion in the name of the Constitution? How can
we establish justice for citizens, and protect them
from oppression?

It seems to me the only way is to give political
power to those who you know must be faithful to
the Union, and exclude those who have given the
country to the rebellion. It is to deal justly with
the laboring masses, and allow them a voice in
making the laws by which they are to be govern-
ed, and which are to regulate all the relations be-
tween themselves and capital.

means of securing justice to themselves, in the
constant interposition of the Federal power, either
by its war power or Congressional legislation. But
either of these, however necessary for a time, (and
I doubt not that such interference will be necessary.)
would be more objectionable than to allow the
whole people to make their own laws.

There is another consideration which should have
great weight in the decision of this great question.
The public faith is pledged to the negro. To en-
slave him again, or to permit his enslavement—or
to allow the gross injustice and oppression which
now form the staple of all plans of reconstruction
of the Southern States upon the "State Rights"
theory—would be a most disgraceful violation of the
public faith. What was the meaning of that great
National Act performed through the highest Execu-
tive authority, and upon which was solemnly invoked
the "conscience of mankind," and the "mercies of
Almighty God"? Was it intended
to remove the yoke of slavery, and substitute in
its place still more grievous oppressions? Under
what circumstances was the nation's faith thus pledged?

It was in the dark days of the struggle—when
rebels and their Northern sympathizers were re-
patriated—when you needed help. In your extremity,
you called upon the negro to help you through with
the conflict, with a distinct promise of freedom.
He answered to the nation's call, and has done well
his part. Mr. Lincoln, as Commander-in-Chief, has
said that, without his aid, he could not have suc-
ceeded in crushing the rebellion. Now, when you are
so much to him, will you stand carelessly by, and
see him practically re-enslaved? Will you permit
the miserable plea to prevail, that you have no con-
stitutional power to fulfill such sacred pledges? Will
you turn the Emancipation Proclamation into a
man-trap-trick—get soldiers to help you out of
a tight place?

But there is another consideration of more weight
than all others. If ever there was a demonstration
of the great truth, that God interposes in the affairs
of men—that "He sets up one, and puts down
another, according to His own will"—we have it in
the history of this rebellion. During its progress,
the appeal has been distinctly made to the Almighty
for his interposition in behalf of the nation. Partic-
ular days have been set apart, and they have been
observed. No matter what your creed or form of
religion or irreligion, those days, as a general thing,
were observed, and were national acknowledgments
of the need of help—an appeal to God to vindicate
the righteousness of our cause.

In like manner, the rebels made their appeals to
the same High authority. The arbitrament of Je-
hovah was fairly invoked. In no case since the
trial made by Elijah with the rebels of the North
concerning the need of divine interposition, or as com-
plete a submission to God of the merits of a cause. And
how clear and distinct has been the award! How
clear and distinct has been the award! How clear
and distinct has been the award!

That is the inexorable decree of the Highest Au-
thority.

It is plain, that the masses are not prepared for
suffrage, is the old pretext for depriving them of all
political power.

Probably the negro population of the Southern
States are not well prepared; but one thing is quite
clear to my mind, and that is, they cannot be
educated by the white population. The white popu-
lation have hitherto made. But grant that they need
preparation—then educate them. A boy cannot
learn to swim on dry land. He must try the water,
and run the risk of being drowned. So the use of
the ballot is the best training for the responsibilities
of the citizen, although it is a simple act of justice.
The black man's position in the history of this nation
is as plainly defined as that of any other man, or
class of men. He has borne the nation's yoke as a
slave, and taken care of himself and his master.
He has fought the nation's battles in the field, and
saved the Government from being overthrown, and
conquered his own freedom. The next thing in the
order is for the American people and Government
to gracefully yield his claim of citizenship.

We confess, we never expected to witness such a
spectacle as that of a Northern or Republican paper
going into a long discussion with the late rebels
about the manhood of the black man, after the
exhibition he has made of himself on the battle-fields
of the Union. The few lines of Nicholson's letter
below show plainly enough what his object is:

their forces for a new conflict. One rallying-cry
which they found very effective in gathering forces
under the rebel banner four years ago was, "One
Southern man can whip five Yankees." If it had
been true, we know not what the result would have
been. But in this case, which we are entering,
if we deny the colored man a vote, we make it
true that one rebel can defeat two loyal men.
Deny the colored man his vote, and his rebel neigh-
bors cast their vote for him. The South will have
some thirty Congressmen more than she would have
had, if the colored population were not counted.
And in districts where the colored and white popu-
lation are equal, the vote of the white rebel (now of
course loyal) will count as much as two in the North.

Just think of it! Are we prepared to allow the
ignorant rebel soldier, paroled from Lee or John-
ston's army, to defeat by his vote the votes of both
Grant and Sherman? Are we prepared to give them
such a vantage ground at the beginning of this con-
test? Are we sure, in such a case, that they will not
succeed, assisted as they will be by their northern
allies, far more skillful in fighting political than phys-
ical battles? And if they do succeed, then what?
Repudiation of our national debt, and under another
form, the re-enslavement of the colored people! Once
given them the control of the government, and they
will have no scruples respecting the passage of any
measure within their power, however base it might
be. They will know that the North would not, af-
ter spending so much blood and treasure during the
last four years to put down the rebellion, rebel her-
self.

Thus, the question is not merely, shall the colored
man vote, but how shall we prevent the rebels from
accomplishing by political trickery what they failed
to do by the sword?

We now have both the power and the right to re-
quire, in order to the restoration of the rebel States
to their former status in the Union, that colored men
be allowed to vote. We have just as much right to
say the colored man shall vote, as to say the traitor
shall not vote. Both are admitted rights of con-
science. But one of these rights we have in the
history of this rebellion. During its progress,
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exhibition he has made of himself on the battle-fields
of the Union. The few lines of Nicholson's letter
below show plainly enough what his object is:

continue to cheat them, and whose leading policy
is to degrade the race everywhere? We can tell the
American people that they must not be surprised if
black men become suspicious of the sincerity of their
intentions.

We ask, in conclusion, Shall the late rebels now
in, and dictate what shall be the future status of
the freedmen? Will four millions of people con-
sent to return to slavery at the bidding of their former
masters? Shall black men be so unfortunate as
hereafter to find that they have been instrumental
in making the nation and Government stronger than
ever, that their cruel policy may be the more crush-
ing upon the race? Let us hope that the God of na-
ture will yet take away the American heart of
stone toward the black man, and give them a heart
of flesh.—Anglo-African.

IN A NEW FIELD.

Robert E. Lee, already weary of obscurity, has
taken the presidency of the college at Lexington,
Va. His friends, North and South, hail his return
to the world with banners and trumpets. The in-
stitution is, we believe, an old one, and educated
very many of those brave Virginians who, after
receiving all the honors the Union could bestow
upon them, shamefully conspired to destroy it. Like
all the institutions of that section, it passed for a
while under a cloud; but, more fortunate than some
of them, it came to the light again under a leader
every way suited to its historical renown.

It should not, perhaps, occasion much surprise
that the subdued but unrepentant rebels who pre-
side over this Virginia Holston consider it in good
taste to flaunt their essential disloyalty in the face
of the country in this remarkable manner. Of pure,
unadulterated audacity the educated Virginians of
this generation have presented the sublimest spec-
imens. Obviously, adversity has not reduced their
spirit, nor improved their manners, or they would
not have chosen for their exemplar and chief the man
whose example, above all others, the young men of
the country should religiously refuse to follow.
But they are not alone in their misplaced enthusiasm.
We read in the New York Flunk of yesterday—
better known to some as the New York World—
that "it argues well for the future tranquility of
the country, that the controlling minds of that sec-
tion in the next generation will be to be moulded
by such a man as Lee." It will be well for the
future tranquility of the country, if the example
of his base and inextinguishable perfidy does not fill
the minds of the young Virginians with the same polit-
ical heresies which, under the lead of Robert Lee,
came so near making a wreck of our whole political
system. The Flunk continues: "He is surrounded
with a moral atmosphere which calls for the most
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enthusiasm." Wirz, whose atrocious cruelties are
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Poetry.

TRIBUTE TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
Extract from a Poem, written by Rev. J. H. PIERCE, and read by him at the Celebration by the Colored People's Educational Monument Association, in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, at Washington, July 4, 1865.

To that point had slavery brought down
Proud old Virginia she hanged John Brown;
And the same cause that wrought Virginia's fall
Was, like the cholera, sweeping over all,
That sat in darkness on the plains that spread
Twixt Rio Grande and Potomac's bed,
Where Abel tilled the ground, and Cain ate up the bread.
Brown saw Virginia as she languid stood,
In her slave chains, selling her own blood,
And would have freed her laborer from his chains,
And clothed with verdure her old name plains;
But she would still on her destroyer stand,
And hug the viceroy closer to her hand,
Till, as her pulses faint and fainter throbs,
Fading that she must either die or rob,
She bargains with her sisters, who combine,
Such as fair Flora and warm Caroline,
To lay their hands on all that they can get,
To eat at leisure, and not pay the debt.

The boldest backwoods hunter just fears
The hungry wolf he holds but by the ears.
Seeing his hold 's so weak, the brute so strong,
That, without help, he cannot hold him long,
And fearing that, if he lets go, his grim
And wide-mouthed game will soon make game of him,
Calls on his fellow-hunters for their help,
In keeping down and muzzling the wolf;
And if his neighbors come not at his call,
He grows profane, and swears he'll whip them all;
So our hunters, grasping with a foe
They scarce can hold, and dare not let him go,
Call, in their terror, upon Northern smiths
And woodmen, for new fetters and green withes,
To bind their shaggy Sampson in his mill,
To help him hold, and keep him grinding still,
Nor him alone; his children must they bind,
Build them more mills wherein his boys may grind,
Purchase new acres at their proper cost,
Get new Virginia for them to exhaust,
Throw up new dikes 'gainst Freedom's overflow,
And to her surges say, "No farther go!"
And now, forsooth, because those neighbors stand,
Look calmly on, and lend no helping hand,
To their demand for aid make no reply,
Or cooily say, "We've our own fish to fry;
Good friends, we're weary of this thankless task,
We've given you more than you're a right to ask;
Till now, we've helped you in your time of need,
Conceded till we can no more concede,
Done for you all that should or will be done,
So hold your wolf yourselves, or—let him run!"
Our Nimrod—mighty hunters—grow profane,
Break three commandments, take God's name in vain,
Steal from their neighbors till they've stolen their fill,
And then proceed to bully and to kill.

And that is War! But War, that burns and blights,
And makes his minister, and cloth with rights;
The right a bondman's fetters to unloose,
To wrest the scepter from a rebel's grasp,
And say, "Lay down your crown and your dirk,
And take your choice, slave—strut, or go to work!"

This said the man, raised up and sent, through grace,
To be a prince and savior of a race;
A race long doomed to servitude and scorn;
But through this Prince's word, to freedom born.
The man to whom the bloody hand of War
Brought the commission, so long waited for,
"Deliverance to the captives" to proclaim,
Like him whose name "is above every name."
For him a Nation's eyes with tears are dim;
He slavery sold, then slavery murdered him.
But, in a race redeemed, he made his mark
On History's page. But that day, O how dark—
When darkness covered all the cloud-wreathed land,
And the Oppressor laid his heaviest hand
Upon its eye-balls, to "put out the light!"
Of hope and science from both soul and sight—
Must it now be, from its "long despair,"
Brought out to feel the sun, and breathe the upper air!
Fountain of light! for these, thy children, long
Held in the dark, by robbery and wrong,
Held, groping on in more than Egypt's night,
Hear we not now thy word, "Let there be light!"
For we didst thou a great Deliverer raise,
For him we all now cheer Thee our praise;
And, that his name may never be forgot,
Would his redeemed ones, near the holy spot,
Where his great word went forth, and where he fell,
Build up a monument to the world to tell,
The gratitude, that all who now are free,
Should feel, and do, both to him and Thee.
Not such a monument as Egypt's kings
Built for their bones; but such a one as brings
Out, from the hidings of oblivion's veil,
The hallowed name of Harvard or Yale;
Within whose shadow, thirty youths, who think
With Solomon, that "light is sweet," may drink
From the sweet fountain, thus hast made o'erflow
From all thy works, above, around, below;
Fountain of Knowledge, that, like thine own grace,
Debars no color, and excludes no race,
Where every child may see that, every hour,
His gaining knowledge, he is gaining power;
The power to labor for the common weal;
To soothe some grief, some malady to heal;
And, by example, to make all men see,
That it is best for all that all men should be free.

Our Lincoln Monument of One shall speak,
Like Moses faithful, and like Moses meek;
Who led the people through a redder sea
Than Israel passed, to light and liberty;
Of him, who, humbly trusting in the Lord,
Moved by thy Holy Spirit, spoke thy word;
And, as that word was plainly, firmly spoken,
The bondman's chains fell off, the tyrant's rod was broken.

AFTER THE WAR!

FARMER.
Ho! Blacksmith, are you busy?
My horse has lost a shoe,
Long road I have to travel,
You must fix us up anew.

BLACKSMITH.
Look round my forge, good Farmer,
And tell me what you see;
Am I busy? am I idle?
Ask the anvil at my knee.

FARMER.
I see around your workshop
Stark implements of War—
Can it be that you are forging
Some new-born quarrel for?

BLACKSMITH.
Not so, my jovial Farmer,
The weapons that I forge
Not many limbs shall sever,
Draw no gore-drops, cut no gorge;

FARMER.
Sword I'm turning into ploughshare,
Into reaping-hook the gun,
Here are bayonets by the bushel—
Shall I shoe your horse with one?

BLACKSMITH.
Or if a broken fetter
From the South his hoof will fit,
Lead in your horse, good Farmer,
And I'll fit him with it!

TO JOHN B. GOUGH.

Great Champion of the Right! thy clarion voice
The erring world checks in its thorny path,
Securing off abatement from God's wrath!
Thy rare persuasive power makes those rejoice
To whom life had before been baleful blight.
Thou hast outwitted the Alchemist of old—
Hast turned the brass of Wrong to Truth's pure gold!
Thy arm guided on, in fearless fight,
Unaided, won Oppression's base array,
Conquering Evil with all its hydra heads,
The blood of Achan's thy sharp sword sheds!
Brave Conqueror! Truth's standard high display,
Till, for thy shining soul, the angel's hand
Shall lift the veil before the Better Land!

The Liberator.

PROGRESS IN RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE, (R. I.) Sept. 19, 1865.
To the Editor of the Liberator:

The great wave of progress toward an acknowledgment of the equality of all men, which is now sweeping through the world, has not left our little State of Rhode Island untouched, although too many of our citizens are yet endeavoring to row their little boats in opposition to the tide. You are aware that we have had in three towns of our State, Providence, Newport and Bristol, a relic of the barbarism of slavery, in the shape of separate and inferior schools, which alone our colored children have been allowed to attend. For twelve years, by remonstrance and petition, have they knocked at the doors of our City Council and Legislature, asking for justice, and have been denied. Last year, a law guaranteeing to them their rights passed our House of Representatives, but was defeated by a small majority in the Senate, chiefly through the influence of the Newport members, who were combined in opposition to it. But this year, our City Solicitor, to whom the question was referred by the Superintendent, has decided that the ordinance establishing separate schools for colored children does not exclude them from any other public school; and our School Committee has rescinded a resolution placing that construction upon the ordinance. A colored girl has been admitted to the High School, and colored children have entered several of the public schools; yet they are still arbitrarily excluded in several districts by the District Committee. But Newport, through her School Committee, on recommendation of the Superintendent, Rev. Mr. Talbot, a man of right impulses, has dared to admit them into all the schools, and trust in the safety of doing justice.

This result was as unexpected as it was welcome to the friends of equal rights, for Newport was the centre of the most determined opposition to the movement. No doubt it is to no small degree owing to the influence of Rev. T. W. Higginson, late Colonel of the 1st South Carolina Colored Regiment, who is now a member of the School Committee. The friends of the movement in Providence are determined that this city shall not be long behind Newport in this matter. A majority of the lower branch of our Common Council are known to be favorable to it, but if they should fail to do justice, there is little doubt that the Legislature will complete the good work this winter. Without doing injustice to others, I may say, that great assistance has been rendered by the untiring efforts of Rev. Dr. Swain, and Charles L. Thomas, Esq., a member of our Common Council, in forwarding the good cause. We have, too, the influence of the Union League on the right side. At a meeting of this body, among a series of resolutions affirming the duty of our people in reference to the colored man, was one declaring that "caste schools, by denying to one portion of our fellow-citizens certain rights and privileges which are enjoyed by the people in general, are rendered anomalous to the principles of republicanism, and ought to be immediately abolished." Hoping to be able soon to inform you of the complete triumph of justice in our State, I remain

Yours, for the good cause,
L. G. J.

A MOST GRATIFYING CHANGE.

FRIEND GARRISON—Three weeks' visiting Washington, and what I have seen there, convince me that everything relating to the black man's rights looks hopeful and encouraging. There are two classes of people to be benefited by this new change—to wit, the Northern white slaves and the poor white Southern trash. Already these two forces begin to show evident signs of new birth. For instance, it would do your soul good to see the perfect equality prevailing between the colored and white street-car travellers, street cars jam full—black and white passengers forming a complete checker-board. What a contrast is this with the prejudices of the citizens of the city of "Brotherly Love"—Philadelphia! There they have their own way. Just look into that street car running through Arch Street, the Quaker stronghold. What a sickly, motley, lantern-jawed jam of pale faces! No "niggers" allowed in these cars. Now, it does seem to me that the good old Quaker element has died out. Not a broad-brim nor a cock-scuttle bonnet to be seen. Oh, those were good old faces to look upon, even if we had the bad manners to gaze at them. By the way, passing by Pennsylvania Hospital last Wednesday, I noticed that the statue of William Penn had fallen from its pedestal. When a boy, from five years old and upwards, I made it my duty to look up to that old statue as something more than human. Now, since I come to think, I am not at all surprised at its falling down. It was ashamed to be seen standing for the last seventy-five years in front of the Hospital, with the charity in one hand, and pointing to it with the other as an emblem of peace and good-will between the red and white man. Alas! there is no peace in the city of Penn for the black man; and so the old Penn statue comes down. There is one consolation: it will not always be so. God still reigns; and his sceptre of righteousness will not depart, nor the sword of justice be sheathed, until equal and exact justice shall be enjoyed by all mankind.

Yours, faithfully,
W. P. P.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS ON THE EDUCATIONAL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Aug. 8th, 1865.
W. J. WILSON, Esq.—My Dear Sir: In answer to your note requesting me to allow my name to stand as one of the officers of the "Educational Monument Association," I beg to state that I cannot allow my name as your request, nor can I, with my present views, favor the plan adopted by the Association. On many accounts, I wish I could unite with you in this enterprise, and not the least among them is the pleasure I experience in finding myself cooperating with yourself, and other gentlemen connected with this Educational Monument Association, for the common elevation and improvement of our condition as a people. But I must be true to my conviction of fitness.

When I go for anything, I like to go strong, and when I cannot go strong, I had better not go at all. You cannot want a man among you who cannot bring his whole heart to the work. I can't do this, and hence will not fill the place, which, if filled at all, should be filled more worthily.

You will, my old friend, naturally inquire why I cannot do this? Here there is no difficulty but the time required to answer. There is much I could say, but I must be brief. First of all, then, I must say, this whole monument business, in its present shape, strikes me as an offence against good taste, and as calculated to place the colored people in an undesirable and discreditable position before the country. Such, I say, is my present conviction. Do not consider me hostile to monuments nor to colleges; I am not to either. Things good in standing alone are not always good when mixed.

Now, a monument by the colored people, erected at the expense of the colored people, in honor of the memory of Abraham Lincoln, expressive of their gratitude and affection for their friend and great benefactor, however humble and inexpensive the marble, I could understand and appreciate, and the world would understand and appreciate the effort. A monument like this would express one of the holiest sentiments of the human heart. It would be, as all such offerings should be, free from all taint of self-love or self-interest on our part, as a class. It would be our own act and deed, and would show to after-coming generations, in some degree, the sentiments awakened among the oppressed by the death of Mr. Lincoln. A monument of this kind, erected by the colored people—that is, by the voluntary offerings of the colored people—is a very different thing from a monument built by money contributed by white men to enable colored people to build a monument. We should bury

our own dead and build our own monuments, and all monuments which we would build to the memory of our friends, if we would not invite the continued contempt of the white race upon our heads. Now, whenever a movement shall be made for such a monument, I am with it, heart and soul, and will do my best to make it a success. So much for the monument part of your plan.

Now a word of the college. I am heartily in favor of all needful educational institutions for the present education of colored people, even though they be separate institutions. Present circumstances are the only apology for such institutions. When a colored lad or girl can go to school or college with the white people of the country, it is best for all that they should do so. Hence, I am not for building up permanent separate institutions for colored people of any kind. Even in the matter of the college, therefore, in so far as the idea of permanent isolation is contemplated, I am opposed to your plan. The lesson now flashed upon the attention of the American people, the lesson which they must learn, or neglect to do so at their peril, is that "equal manhood means equal rights," and further, that the American people must stand each for all and all for each, without respect to color or race. The spirit of the age is against all institutions based upon prejudice, or providing for prejudice of race. I, therefore, am opposed to doing anything looking to the perpetuity of prejudice. I expect to see the colored people of this country enjoying the same freedom, voting at the same ballot-box, using the same carriage box, going to the same schools, attending the same churches, travelling in the same street-cars, in the same railroad-cars, on the same steamboats, proud of the same country, fighting the same foe, and enjoying the same peace and all its advantages. This is no new position with me. Having held it when the prospect was dark, I shall not relinquish it now when the clouds are disappearing and the heavens are bright.

But, supposing the college a desirable thing, I am opposed to obtaining it in the way proposed. As I understand the matter, you propose to establish a college collecting agency, persons to travel and solicit, five hundred thousand dollars from the public, white as well as colored, to enable you to build a monument to the memory of your departed friend and benefactor, which monument you propose shall be in the form of a college, for the exclusive use of colored people. If I am right in this statement, I beg you to hear me a moment further.

A college is a college, and has its own peculiar claims, and ought to stand upon its own merits. A monument is a monument, and has its own peculiar claims and merits. The two things spring from different motives, and are suggestive of different ideas and sentiments. For a monument, by itself, and upon its own merits, I say good. For a college, by itself, (with the limitations already suggested,) and upon its own merits, I say good. But for a college-monument, or for a monument-college, I do not say good; for the things, however good separately, are incongruous and offensive when connected as now proposed. The whole scheme is derogatory to the character of the people of the United States. It carries on its front a distasteful implication. It looks to me like an attempt to wash the black man's face in the nation's tears for Abraham Lincoln! It places the paddle-wheels of the colored man's boat in the tide of the popular grief, with a view to his special advantage. I am for washing the black man's face, that is, educating his mind, for that is a good thing to be done, and I appreciate the nation's tears for Abraham Lincoln; but I am not so enterprising as to think of turning the nation's veneration for our martyred President into a means of advantage to the colored people, and of sending around the hat to a mourning people.

When the colored people want a college, let them beg for a college on its own merits, and in the name of the living, and I am with them. When they want a monument to perpetuate the memory of a good man, I am with them. But when they want to raise a college for themselves out of the general grief of the American people for the dead, I am not with them, and frankness requires me to say so in all earnestness. If these views are ill-founded, and you can show them to be so, I shall only be too happy to abandon them.

With best wishes and great respect for you, personally, I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

THE FAIR OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE.

The thirty-sixth annual fair of the American Institute was opened in New York on Tuesday evening of last week. Major Gen. Sickles gave the opening oration, which was well received by those present.

Among the curiosities on exhibition is an "In Memoriam" of Washington, got up by A. B. Waldron, who has devoted two hours a day for eleven months in making it. It is a portrait of the hero, the least collection of appropriate sentiments all expressed in bits of colored paper carefully cut out and affixed to a pasteboard surface.

There is also on exhibition a curious object called "The Hair Eagle." It is a representation of our national bird, made by a Brooklyn firm from the hair of President Lincoln, Vice-President Hamlin, Secretaries Seward, Chase, Welles, Stanton, Ulster, Bates and Blair, Speaker Colfax, Senators Fessenden, Johnson, Foote, Sumner, Corwin, Lincoln, Harris, Trumbull, Wilson, Sherman, Sprague, Lane, Howard, Foster, Harlan, Hicks, Hale, Morgan, Wade, Ramsey, Howe, Morrill and Wilkins, and Messrs Lincoln, Welles, Bates and Blair.

Among those who have been reduced from affluence to a condition of poverty by the results of war in Virginia, and who have been compelled to seek charity at the hands of Governor Peirpont, of that State, is a daughter of the late venerable Chief Justice Marshall. Before the war, this family was one of the wealthiest in the State. The husband of the lady referred to, being old and a cripple, and his family helpless, had sold his real estate, and invested his funds in railroad stocks and negroes, and now, at the close of the war, finds this source of income entirely removed from their control, and themselves reduced to the most abject poverty.

TROOPS FURNISHED. Provost Marshal General Fry states that Wisconsin has furnished ninety-six thousand troops to the Federal Government, whose terms of service vary from three months to three years. This is about one-half of the arms-bearing population of the State. Indiana furnished 193,337, and Pennsylvania 361,939.

Official documents prove the facts of the horrible treatment by Tom Long, one of Governor Holden's magistrates, of the freedman, Richard Cotton, who was beaten on the head with a pistol by an official, then whipped with thirty-nine lashes and tied up by the two thumbs two hours, in accordance with the sentence by said Long. General Hardin has ordered the arrest of the guilty parties.

THE STATE CENSUS. The census returns from nearly three hundred cities and towns in Massachusetts, taken in May last, give a population in the aggregate of 1,147,985. The towns which remain to be heard from will probably swell the total population of the State to about 1,275,000. There has been a decrease in population, in the last five years, in 192 of the towns and cities reported, and an increase in 107.

There are in Washington nine colored day-schools, whose teachers are supported by tuition fees. There are also twenty-five free schools, supported by Northern philanthropy, and eight free morning schools, taught by clerks in the different departments. The city of Washington, as a corporation, pays nothing for the education of its own colored people.

R. M. T. Hunter has been released from P. Palski on parole.

Selections.

VITALITY OF THE FREED NEGROES.

Want of space prevented us, in our last number, from fortifying our conclusions in regard to the probable extinction of the freedmen, by a reference to the history of the colored population of the British West Indies. It was a prevalent supposition not many years ago, that emancipation had ruined the commerce and material prosperity of those islands. We imagine that the general impression at the present time, as to the population of those islands, is that it is dwindling away, and only kept up by the importation of coolies. Mr. Sewell's thorough work, "The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies," showed conclusively that emancipation had advanced them commercially and materially, as well as socially and morally. It is our pleasure to exhibit the increased progress of the population, which has also resulted from emancipation. In Mr. Bryan Edwards' standard history of the British Colonies, a table of the population of the different islands in 1791, including the Bahamas, but not including the Bermudas, St. Lucia, and Trinidad, gives as the total population of the rest of the islands 544,000, in round numbers. By Parliamentary returns for the year 1826 and neighboring years, the population of the same islands footed up to 689,000, that is, 135,000 more than in 1791, though between 1791 and 1807, when the slave trade to all British possessions was stopped, from 160,000 to 240,000 slaves must have been introduced and retained. This estimate of the number of slaves introduced may seem high, but the number of the colored population of the French Republic, 38,000 slaves, of whom these islands would take more than half, were annually absorbed by the British West India Colonies, and a Parliamentary return for the two years of 1802 and 1803 gives an annual mean of 10,500 slaves imported into and retained in these islands from 1826 to 1844, when the next census was taken, a period embracing eight years of slavery, four of apprenticeship, and six of freedom, the increase of the whole population in the islands was 48,000 on a population of 734,000, or 3.5 per cent. for a period of ten years.

The last Parliamentary return of the population of the British West Indies is for the year 1862. The total black and colored population was then 874,694. In 1844, no distinction was made between the white and the colored part of the population, except in Jamaica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and the Bahamas. If we take the white population in the other islands at the same number that it was in 1834, whatever error there will be will tend to reduce the real increase of the free colored between the years 1844 and 1862, since the white population in these islands somewhat increased between 1834 and 1844. Thus calculated, the white population in 1844 was 48,399, and the colored population was 733,736. The gain of the colored population in the eighteen years was 140,895, or an increase of 19.2 per cent. The increase in this number (estimating from the data given by Cochran for all the islands up to 1856, and from the numbers stated by other authorities as being in several of the islands in 1860) cannot be more than 45,000. The increase of the colored population from 1844 to 1862 will then be reduced to 95,895, which gives a decennial rate of increase of 7.37 per cent. This increase was made in spite of the general insalubrity of great portions of the islands, of which an idea can be gained from the fact that the annual mortality among the British troops is as high as one in twenty, and in spite of cholera epidemics in Jamaica and Barbadoes, which were said to have carried off nearly a third of the population. The increase of the white population during the same period was not more than 4 per cent. If the accuracy of the return for Jamaica, which makes the population 66,000 greater than in 1844, and very much greater than Mr. Sewell estimated it in 1860, be questioned, we will throw Jamaica altogether out of consideration. Taking only the other islands, and calculating the increase by the same means as before, the increase, after deducting 25,000 for the coolies who may have swelled the sum, is 49,000 over a population of 373,000 in 1844, or at the rate of 7.37 per cent. for ten years. To sum up the results we have exhibited, being in 35 years the population of the British West Indies diminished one and a half to five per cent. every ten years, and in 18 years, two-thirds of them were passed under slavery or the apprenticeship system, it increased only at the rate of 3.5 in ten years, in the following 18 years of freedom, the colored population increased at the rate of 7.37—a rate more than double the preceding.—The Nation.

PARDON OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Appeal of the Members of the Mississippi Convention in behalf of Jeff. Davis and Ex-Gov. Clark.

The following address to the President was prepared and signed in the Mississippi State Convention before its adjournment:

JACKSON, MISS., Aug. 22d, 1865.

The members of the Convention of the State of Mississippi, assembled for the purpose of amending the constitution, and in the name of the people of the State, respectfully present the following petition:

Charles Clark, late acting Governor of this State, is, we learn, held in confinement by authority of the United States Government at Fort Pulaski. He is a man of high social position, of great worth, integrity and intelligence. Jefferson Davis, lately the President of the States in rebellion against the Federal Government, is said to be in strict confinement, and debarré the privilege of corresponding or conversing with his family or friends. He is said to be suffering ill health, and to be threatened with the loss of sight. His family is reduced to poverty.

Here, resistance to the authority of the United States is at an end. There is no longer among our people any question of war or of resistance to the Government, but an honest determination to return to peaceful occupations, and to restore the prosperity that once blessed our State. The action of the Convention now in session leaves no doubt of the truth of this assertion. We believe that what is said of our own State is true of all the States lately in rebellion.

Few of us coincided with Messrs. Davis and Clark in their political opinions. Most of us voted against secession, and for years opposed the State-rights party, yet none of us doubted that Mr. Davis acted upon an honest and sincere conviction that the theory of our government, which he adopted as his right—a theory once advocated by some of the best men our country produced. He was loth to resort to a disruption of the Union as a mode of remedying what he thought to be wrong in the past, and guarding against other and more grievous wrongs which he believed to be impending. After the Convention assembled in this State, had passed by us in their opinions, he left the Senate of the United States reluctantly and with sorrow, believing, we are assured, that he was required to do so by his duty to the State, a due regard for consistency, and the political principles he had so long adhered to—the solemn earnest, and patriotic appeals contained in his latest addresses to the Senate, and his own opinions. It was well known to our people that he was not among the most ardent of his political associates.

In other terms, leading Mississippians to victory, he gallantly fought and bled for the Union, and reflected honor and renown upon our State, as well as the whole country. We cannot be indifferent to his fate now, however much we differ from him in his political opinions, and we can but sympathize with him in his misfortunes.

When a war of sections began, inaugurated not so much by the action or appeals of individuals, as by the general uprising and enthusiasm of the masses, he was chosen with extraordinary unanimity, because he was known to be honest, sincere, and prudent, to preside over the States in revolt. He was the representative of the sentiment of the people of the States. His acts were those of the great body of the people. We respectfully and earnestly ask that our sins, the sins of the millions for whom and with whom he acted, may not be visited upon his head.

Now that our people are returning, heartily and cheerfully, to their allegiance, we are confident the pardon of the gentlemen we have mentioned will go very far to produce a more kindly feeling between the people of the North and the South, and rid us of much of that asperity which has arisen from the re-

cent conflict. We believe, too, that the pardon of Mr. Davis would be an act of grateful magnanimity, becoming a powerful Government, whose military strength and resources have astonished the world, and whose claims to respect would rest not more upon its power than upon its acts of mercy in the hour of triumph. We submit that this act would elicit the applause and excite the admiration of all good men at home, and all good men and governments abroad.

We think the disasters the war has brought upon us will prevent the recurrence of rebellion. These disasters may well stand in the place of further punishment. They have reached us all. We recognize them in the desolation of our fields—in the ruin of our homesteads—the destruction of untold wealth—the terrible loss of life, and the sweeping away of almost all that makes a people great, prosperous, or happy. We therefore appeal, earnestly and respectfully, to the President, to extend to these gentlemen, in whose fate Mississippians especially feel so deep an interest, the same clemency which he has generously extended to so many of our people.

[The above, it is stated, was signed by every member of the Convention.]

THE PRESIDENT'S ANTE-ROOM.

A New York city friend, of the philosophic contemplative order, once demonstrated to me that in all this world there were no richer fields than the study of human physiology and nature than the business rendezvous in Wall street, and the other teeming channels of trade in money, and trade generally, in the Empire city. But there "the mirrors of the soul"—the faces of the trading, speculating, bustling, lying and cheating multitude—reflected only one of the many human passions. There is a much more varied opportunity for observation and studies of this kind in this city. It is open to all that care to improve it. It is offered in the Presidential ante-rooms at the White House.

Yesterday morning, once I had been in the regularly enjoyed in the executive lobby in the spring of 1861, when the rush of office-seekers was at its height, in the contemplation of the protracted trials of patience, hopes and fears, joy or wrath of the claimants of Presidential favors. Hence I could not resist the temptation, on passing the White House yesterday forenoon, of looking into the Presidential ante-rooms, where I then saw human nature and ambition; selfishness and corruption; persistence and impudence flourish to such a wonderful degree. And what did I see? The picture of old, reproduced in its general features, but varying strikingly enough in its details. There were present about one hundred individuals of both sexes, all ages, of every rank and station, in public and private life. They filled uncomfortably not only the waiting room proper, but all the halls, and even the rooms of the private secretaries. They stood or sat in groups and singly. There were Governors, Senators, Governors, and other distinguished personages, and a host of lesser lights, gazing about, listening, and waiting. Some, with great simplicity of manner, had squatted on the floor, hugging their knees and glancing wistfully about. Others were leaning in more or less graceful attitudes against walls, desks and tables, gazing, staring, stretching, evidently at a loss what to do with their bodies. Having recently witnessed the stiff decorum of every rank and station, in public and private life, I felt uncomfortably not only the waiting room proper, but all the halls, and even the rooms of the private secretaries. They stood or sat in groups and singly. There were Governors, Senators, Governors, and other distinguished personages, and a host of lesser lights, gazing about, listening, and waiting. Some, with great simplicity of manner, had squatted on the floor, hugging their knees and glancing wistfully about. 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